



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

25 January 1984

*Dear Roger,*

Prime Minister's visit to Hungary: speech

The Prime Minister has now been able to give preliminary consideration to her speech for the banquet. She is inclined to combine the draft which you kindly provided with the other material which had been prepared for the speech to the Academy of Science which will no longer be delivered. Thus, the main theme of her speech to the banquet would be "The pathway to the millennium".

I enclose a draft which the Prime Minister will be considering on Saturday morning. If you have any comments at this stage, I should be grateful if you would let me have them by close of play on Friday.

I hope that we shall be able to let you have a text of the speech in its final form to telegraph to Budapest before close of play on Monday 30 January (Peter Unwin told me on the telephone this morning that that would just about give him sufficient time to arrange for its translation).

*Yours ever  
John Gles.*

Roger Bone, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

HUNGARY: DRAFT SPEECH

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Prime Minister,

Thank you for your kind words and generous hospitality.

This is my first visit to Hungary - and the first visit by a British Prime Minister to your country.

"Örülök hogy itt vagyok Budapesten.

The histories of Britain and Hungary have touched at many points.

The authors of your Golden Bull of 1220 were, I believe much influenced by the authors of our Magna Carta in 1215. Lajos Kossuth enjoyed a triumphant tour of Britain in 1851. <sup>and</sup> He remained in London for several years, ~~and a street is still named after him.~~

Several of your great musicians knew Britain well. Haydn, born in Austria and adopted by Hungary, gave many concerts in England. Liszt, too, began his international career in my country.

Before I left London I was shown, in my room at the House of Commons, an engraving of the fine Parliament Buildings, constructed in Budapest at the end of the last century - the design clearly inspired by our own Palace of Westminster.

In modern times, different activities have brought us together. ~~Perhaps you no longer beat us 6-3 at Wembley,~~ <sup>In a famous match ~~you~~ thirty years ago, you</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>But</sup> your prowess on the football field is still legendary in Britain. ~~And a modern story about Britain, perhaps~~ <sup>we are creating another</sup> ~~also destined to become a legend,~~ <sup>through our ice dancing pair who won the European</sup> ~~was carried forward on the~~ <sup>championship</sup> ice in Budapest three weeks ago - the only ice, ~~I hope,~~ in our relationship.

Mr. Prime Minister, in the year 1000, St. Stephen was crowned as the first Christian King of Hungary. He is described in our history books - and perhaps in yours - as the founder and architect of the first independent realm of Hungary. In my words to you tonight I want to look - not back to that millennium - but forward to the next, to the year 2000.

### THE CHALLENGE

We are but 16 years from that point. It will inevitably be a time when the peoples of the world take stock, ~~and examine the balance sheet,~~ They will ask what the human race has achieved; what it should have achieved; and what it might have prevented.

We here - you, the government and people of Hungary - we in Britain - the peoples of the wider world - have the opportunity to affect the judgement that will be made in sixteen years' time. ~~Our actions~~ <sup>The actions <sup>our</sup> of our generation, whether good or ill</sup> will be the subject of special scrutiny ~~for good or ill.~~ We must ask ourselves,

/ today

today in 1984, ~~three~~ <sup>these</sup> questions.

How with our differing histories, experiences and beliefs do we ensure that we progress towards a better life for our peoples? Better in the sense that they can pursue their <sup>own</sup> ambitions and hopes ~~through their own efforts~~ and <sup>together</sup> achieve a higher standard of living and a better quality of life.

How can we ensure that each nation can <sup>shape</sup> ~~pursue~~ its own destiny - a destiny in keeping with the character and <sup>heritage</sup> ~~history~~ of its people?

How can we promote <sup>a secure peace</sup> ~~greater stability and security~~ and that freedom from fear which so many of our predecessors have sought?

That is the challenge. ~~Life without challenge is a poor thing.~~

#### THE RESPONSE

And the response?

Statesmen and governments throughout the world have the duty to lead their peoples towards the millenium: to lead them, not to be the prisoners of events, still less to be seduced by empty panaceas. We must wrestle with the world as it is, not as we might like it to be. If each, or most,

of the current generation of leaders can say at the end of their working lives that ~~they have improved things~~ <sup>their countries are secure and</sup> ~~and if their peoples agree with them~~ <sup>their peoples are happier and more prosperous we shall have made some</sup> that will be true progress. When the searchlight is trained on us in the year 2000 then, if we have achieved that much, we can be satisfied.

We shall pursue our goal in differing ways. We in Britain believe passionately in certain fundamental values.

We shall always try to pursue and further them. <sup>The</sup> You in Hungary have a ~~different experience and a different philosophy.~~ <sup>your own ways of describing your own beliefs</sup> ~~The Hungarian experience and system of government are different from ours~~ But we have common interests which we can pursue together.

~~It is not necessary to yield up one's beliefs to reach for a world in which we can live together to mutual advantage is not out the hand of friendship and co-operation. Friendship is not exclusive.~~ <sup>You do not have to abandon your</sup> <sup>To work together</sup> ~~to abandon our fundamental beliefs.~~ <sup>is not</sup> The fact that a country belongs to a particular alliance does not <sup>exclude bilateral</sup> ~~mean that it cannot seek co-operation~~ with countries outside that alliance.

<sup>political democracy</sup> we believe in peace with freedom ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> a just law ~~and~~

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In pursuing our goals we have at our disposal unprecedented scientific and technological resources. There is no <sup>place</sup> ~~need~~ for pessimism. ~~I am tired~~ of pessimism. Think of 1945 when Europe was in ruins. Twice in thirty years Europeans had spent huge resources on murderous conflicts which threatened to destroy the economic and social progress promised by the industrial revolution. And yet, in the two generations since 1945, we have <sup>come to use and enjoy products undreamed</sup> ~~exchanged post-war rubble for the highest~~ <sup>of by our parents.</sup> ~~standard of living our peoples have ever enjoyed.~~

The twentieth century began with the combustion engine, has moved into space exploration and will end - with what? Such is the pace of technological change that we cannot answer the question. But we have the resources - and if we also have imagination, will and common sense the world of 2000 will be a world of greater opportunity, more freedom of choice, less hardship, less poverty, less misery.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

But for that to come about, other conditions must be satisfied. There must be greater stability, greater security - and above all peace.

I come to Hungary at a time when the political landscape of our own continent, and of others, is clouded. We have already <sup>had</sup> the chance to tell each other something of the aims of our government and of our hopes, as well as our fears, about international developments. We ~~may~~ <sup>Today</sup> stand on different sides of a political divide. ~~operate different social systems, belong to different alliances.~~ <sup>But we should</sup> But the ~~search~~ <sup>desire</sup> for ~~stability, security and peace unites us.~~

~~Our~~ <sup>One</sup> great test of leadership in the next seventeen years will be the imagination and determination we bring to the tasks of arms control and disarmament. We shall need political will as well as mutual respect. <sup>Neither disease, pollution do not split national borders</sup> Mutual respect - for it is useless to suppose that East or West will agree to arms control agreements unless ~~these agreements make~~ <sup>they leave each side secure</sup>

but with fewer weapons. <sup>be prepared to</sup>  
~~at a lower level of weaponry. We must both take practical~~  
~~equal demands of us all. Both sides must be serious about~~  
~~measures. We must both be prepared to have their~~ <sup>visited.</sup>  
~~securing practicable and verifiable measures.~~ We must take  
~~recognise that the other~~ <sup>wants</sup> ~~to be secure~~  
~~account of each other's security concerns - if we seek~~  
~~only unilateral~~ <sup>otherwise</sup> ~~advantages, no useful agreement is possible.~~  
~~But with a proper~~ <sup>regard</sup> ~~respect for each other's concerns a wide~~  
~~range of agreement in the nuclear,~~ <sup>weapons, fewer</sup> ~~conventional~~ <sup>weapons</sup> ~~and chemical~~  
~~fields should be within our grasp.~~ <sup>for a start</sup> ~~chemical weapons~~  
~~could be avoided altogether.~~

<sup>I stress that</sup>  
~~I emphasise in Budapest tonight the absolute sincerity~~  
~~of Britain and of Britain's allies~~ <sup>her</sup> ~~in the search for such~~ <sup>are absolutely sincere</sup>  
~~agreements. The need is urgent. The burden of defence~~  
~~expenditure is~~ <sup>escalating</sup> ~~escalating.~~ <sup>new and more</sup>  
~~New technologies are moving very~~  
~~fast.~~ <sup>terrible devastating weapons</sup> ~~Weapons that were fiction yesterday are fact today and~~  
~~already~~ <sup>absolute overtaken to morrow</sup> ~~outdated tomorrow.~~ There is a deep yearning  
~~amongst our peoples to~~ <sup>halt and reverse</sup> ~~control~~ this process, particularly in the  
~~nuclear field. Now is precisely the wrong time for there~~  
~~to be a hiatus in the most important negotiations between~~  
~~East and West.~~ ~~There is the time to return to the negotiating~~  
~~table. It is the time to talk. The need is there.~~ ~~The chairs at Geneva~~  
~~have already stayed empty too long. Let us urge the leaders~~  
~~to renounce.~~

PEACE

Mr. Prime Minister, as we get nearer to the millennium  
~~those who remember the horrors of war~~ <sup>- and there</sup> ~~will be fewer.~~ <sup>at time</sup> For  
~~those of us who know these horrors - and our generation in~~  
~~your country and mine know them too well,~~ <sup>gone by - have a passionate</sup> ~~the commitment~~  
~~to peace is~~ <sup>suffered</sup> ~~passionate.~~ The world's youth wants peace too -  
~~but in most cases not because they have themselves lived through~~

the tragic ~~suffering and~~ devastation of war. They must never do so.

Despite the worries in the minds of those who contemplate the arsenals of nuclear and conventional arms, and the lack of adequate contact between East and West <sup>I am an optimist.</sup> I believe that the miracle of life is so tenacious that man will never destroy it. And as leaders we must <sup>not behave as though we</sup> ~~ensure that they never~~ <sup>would</sup> seek to.

If between us, we can use these sixteen years to build a more prosperous, more stable and more peaceful world, we shall bequeath a precious legacy to the new millennium.

The true millennium in which nations shall no longer make war against nations nor shall they lift up sword any more.

Let us dedicate ourselves to the goal